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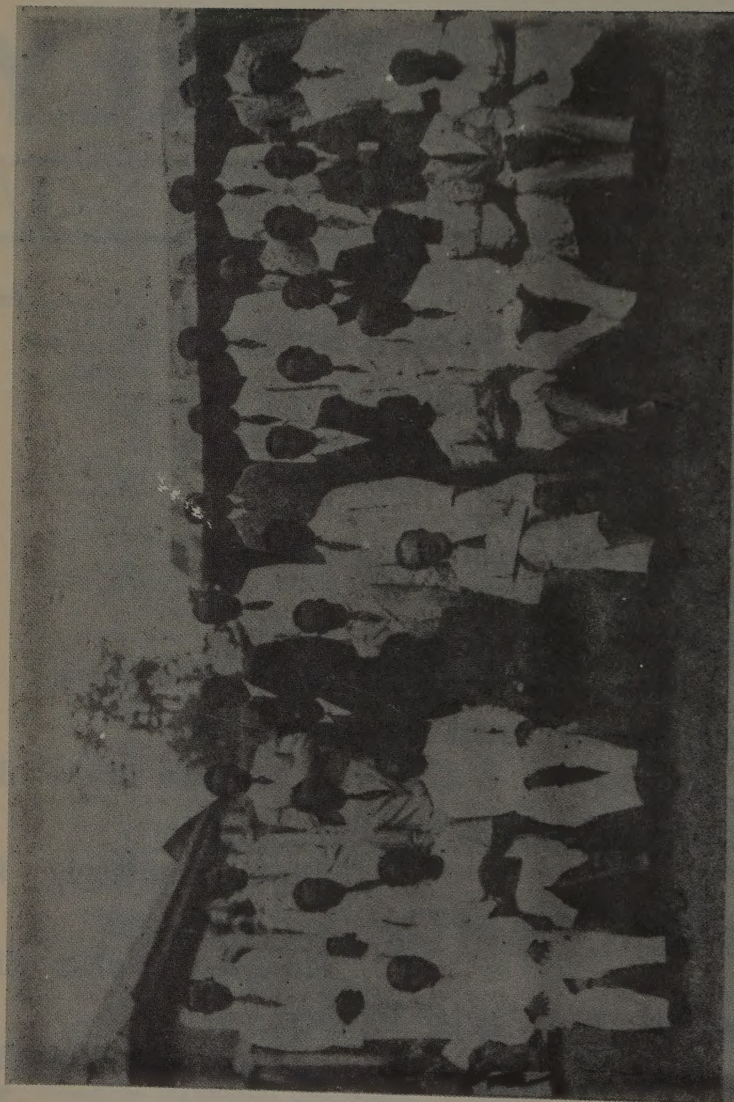
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MR ARTHUR CREECH JONES, M.P., WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE NIGERIAN FABIAN SOCIETY
Lagos, 17th March, 1944

THE NIGERIAN FABIAN SOCIETY

We know that members will be glad of the opportunity afforded by the publication of the photograph on the opposite page to become better acquainted with our West African colleagues than is possible by the written word alone. We also take this opportunity of sending our greetings to the members of the Nigerian Fabian Society and of wishing them further success in their great pioneer work which is part of our common heritage and, we trust, our common future.

This photograph was taken during the visit of Mr Creech Jones, M.P., Chairman of the Colonial Bureau, as Vice-Chairman of the Commission for Higher Education in West Africa. We are glad to publish a brief appreciation which he has written and a descriptive note on the Society by its President, Max Iyalla, who is at present in this country.

There are many circles of Africans—not only in the capital towns—actively concerned about the progress of their country and meeting regularly and discussing in a constructive spirit the problems confronting its development. I desire to add how delighted I was with the reception given to me by the local Fabian Society in Lagos. I found a large and keen group of men and women (including many young people) studying their problems, eagerly discussing the present and future, and preparing papers on the results of their work. I would like to see more groups and the same enthusiasm in other towns as well. My visit to Lagos was most inspiring.

A. CREECH JONES

In a country like Nigeria, vast in area and population, with a diversity of conditions, it is of the utmost importance that political problems be studied in their right perspective, and the result of this study be made available for the use of public bodies. As yet, the problems of Nigeria have not been tackled in the right spirit. Opinions, not sufficiently backed by knowledge and research, are sharply divided and each side holds fanatically to its own views. This is a stumbling block in the way of a practical solution to many problems, and it was to overcome this stumbling block that a group of intelligent young men got together to study current problems, with particular reference to labour conditions. The group was called the Nigeria Labour and Economics Study Group. It decided to affiliate with the Fabian Society in Britain for advice and guidance, and later the Study Group was dissolved and a branch of the Fabian Society established in its place.

Its membership is drawn from many political, social, literary and industrial organisations, and the results of its discussion and research are permeating throughout the country. Educated chiefs, teachers, journalists, clerks, miners, dock-labourers, artisans, farmers, traders, and even ministers of religion have become members. The Society is by no means a large body, as it admits only those who are educated enough to study problems, but it serves a large area and is useful to many organisations. The Society found that accurate results in social and labour problems are best attained by sending out questionnaires to a wide range of people. When answers are received, they are coordinated, discussed and may be followed by a Conference with other bodies and people interested in that particular field of study.

Finally, the Society has made it one of its major considerations to create contacts with the British people to help them understand Nigeria. Very little is known about Nigeria in Britain. Such knowledge is to us the only basis for a happy future in West Africa.

MAX IYALLA

POINTS FOR PLANNERS

THE WHITE PAPER ON EMPLOYMENT POLICY (Cmd. 6527 H M S O 6d)

Although this White Paper is possibly the most important statement on post-war policy which has so far been issued by the Government, we do not propose to comment on it at length in this issue. Unlike the other White Papers on *Education* and *Health Service* it does not make specific proposals for legislation, but only opens an official discussion of the subject in general terms. Summaries of the document are out of place, since it is short and very readable.

In one respect this White Paper has made history in a way which can give socialists cause for rejoicing. In it the Government firmly accepts the responsibility to maintain 'a high and stable level of employment' after the war. The admission that the Government is *able* to control the level of employment by influencing the interplay of economic forces gives, in fact, a public burial to the doctrines of *laissez faire*, with consequences that some members of the Government may yet have cause to regret. Nevertheless, despite frequent use of the term by Ministers, the Government does not accept the aim of 'Full Employment' in the White Paper. This is not a matter of phraseology. For one thing the White Paper never defines what it considers to be a 'high' level of employment. For another it introduces various escape clauses for the Government, notably the familiar sophistry that it cannot be done unless 'the necessary expansion of our export trade is assured'. Most important, however, the long-term policy it outlines is based on an acceptance of a continuation of the fluctuations in private investment and thus of the trade cycle. This policy is designed to level out the fluctuations in the total volume of investment and to modify its effects, rather than to level up total expenditure to the full employment datum line.

The greater part of the White Paper is so lucidly argued that the reasons for the inadequacy of the policy proposed are in no way disguised. Private enterprise is to be induced, assisted or encouraged to provide 'a high and stable level of employment' and to avoid an unbalanced distribution of industry which would lead to bad pockets of localised unemployment, but is not to be directed, controlled or replaced by public enterprise where this would be essential to implement a full employment policy.

The one section of the White Paper where its language becomes so ambiguous and its argument so confused that it is difficult to know what policy is being proposed is that dealing with Central Finance, although this is the crux of the problem. It appears that Government spending is still to be severely restrained by an alleged necessity for 'budgetary equilibrium'. Although it admits that there need not be 'a rigid policy of balancing the Budget each year regardless of the state of trade', the White Paper does not contemplate 'any departure from the principle that the Budget must be balanced over a longer period'.

Far more satisfactory are the proposals of the Government for the transition from War to Peace and for dealing with localised unemployment (Chapters III and IV). These again reveal the inconsistency imposed upon the White Paper by its being the product of a Coalition Government. During the transitional period, for example, the Government is determined 'to avoid dear money . . . for urgent reconstruction needs' by controlling the use of capital 'to the extent necessary to regulate the flow and direction of investment'. Why should this determination be relaxed when after a few years the switch-

over from war to peace production has taken place? The answer given in long-term policy is that high interest rates may be used to prevent 'excessive investment in periods of prosperity'.

There is much in the White Paper which should be welcomed by socialists since they have been saying the same thing for a long time. Its very inconsistencies, if pointed out, are an aid to preparing the public mind for the acceptance of a socialist, full employment policy.

A. F.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE TRAINING OF CIVIL SERVANTS (H M S O Cmd. 6525 6d)

The Civil Service has come in for some severe criticism during the war. In October 1942, the Select Committee on National Expenditure presented a report on 'Organisation and Control of the Civil Service' in the course of which it emphasised the need for post-entry staff training and also advocated the creation of a Staff College for civil servants.

In consequence of this report a Committee on Training of Civil Servants was set up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer under the chairmanship of the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, consisting partly of civil servants and partly of industrialists. Miss Myra Curtis, a former civil servant, who is now principal of Newnham College, is a member.

The enquiry is limited to the Home Civil Service, and excludes the professional and technical grades. It is thus mainly concerned with the Treasury grades.

The Report recognises that many of the defects commonly attributed to the service exist in some measure, and mentions specifically over-devotion to precedent, inaccessibility and remoteness from the general public, lack of initiative and imagination, ineffective organisation and misuse of manpower, procrastination and unwillingness to take responsibility or to give decisions. They declare that post-entry training must be directed towards the elimination of these faults.

Hitherto there has been practically no systematic training in Government Departments, with very few exceptions. Even during the war the vast mass of temporary officers of all grades have been expected to pick up in the course of their daily work such knowledge as they could of the principles of public administration, official procedure, the organisation, functions, powers and policies of the Departments—a quite hopeless task so far as the great majority are concerned.

The Committee recommends that in future every Department should have a proper training scheme approved by the head of the Department under (in large offices) a full-time training officer; and in smaller offices a part-time training officer. There should be a Director of Training and Education at the Treasury to exercise general supervision.

Every new entrant into the Service should undergo a routine training. He would receive a booklet giving the history and functions of the Department and a guide to its procedure. Before starting on actual duty, he would pass through a short introductory course, varying according to grade. This would be followed by personal tuition under an experienced officer, given during official hours.

As much mobility as possible should be provided between Divisions within each Department, between headquarters and outstations, between separate Departments, and between the central government and local authorities. Civil Servants should be encouraged to acquire outside vocational qualifications and tuition fees required for this purpose should be paid out of public funds. Non-vocational part-time education on a free and compulsory basis should

be introduced for all young officials up to the age of 18. Non-vocational further education beyond this age should also be encouraged, but the Committee does not consider it would be justifiable to pay fees for this out of public money.

A central organisation is recommended for training Administrative cadets, although the Committee does not favour the Staff College idea. A central training scheme would be evolved by the Director of Training and Education for these cadets consisting of lectures, reading and discussions on public administration. The training centre should aim at becoming a clearing house for ideas concerning public administration.

The proposals for the clerical and executive grades are more restricted, but they seek none-the-less to awaken the interest and intelligence of the official to the significance of his job, to diminish the boredom and monotony of routine work, and to give the bureaucrat a better understanding of the public's point of view. The Service, say the Committee, 'must be pervaded with a sense of its obligations to the citizen as well as to the Crown'.

It is possible to criticise the Report for not going far enough in various directions; but its recommendations, even as they stand, would greatly improve the Service and reduce, if not eliminate, some of its worst faults.

W. A. R.

LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES JOINT ELECTRICITY AUTHORITY: A REPORT ON THE POST WAR PLANNING OF ELECTRICITY SUPPLY SERVICES. (Published at 5-6, Lancaster Place, W.C.2.)

London has a unified transport system and its water service is administered by a single authority. But its supply of electricity is retailed to the consumer by more than seventy undertakings, controlled by companies, municipal committees, and other bodies. Most of these undertakings have their separate tariffs: in spite of advances made systems of supply vary astonishingly; commercial policy is influenced by the whim of the individual Borough Treasurer or Company Manager. The area is 'Balkanised' by its division into small electrical states and there are parts of the West End where two companies have the right to supply the same territory. Mains are duplicated in the streets, and a Gilbertian situation is created when the occupier of offices buys electricity from one company while his neighbour in the same block obtains energy from the other company.

The history of public electricity supply in London goes back sixty or more years to the brave days when the first arc lights flared on the Embankment. Legislation started with the Electric Lighting Acts of 1882 and 1888. These Acts allowed the Board of Trade to licence any local authority, company, or person to distribute electrical energy within a defined area. The metropolis was no exception to the outcome of the Acts—the establishment everywhere of a large number of fairly small undertakings. It is true that Ferranti, with what now seems to be incredible vision, planned to supply the whole of London from one great station on the Thames at Deptford, but his scheme, in its original intention, came to nothing. The majority view of the 'experts' at that time was that each district should have its own electric light station and the early legislators thought that by expressing areas in terms of local government boundaries, the municipalities would be encouraged to become the suppliers. But as things have turned out the London Companies have consolidated their position, over the years, by a process of amalgamation and acquisition, and today Company-owned and Council-owned undertakings flourish side by side.

At one time the London County Council had the right to purchase the Company undertakings inside its boundary. This right could have been exercised in 1930. But the County Council—Labour was not in control then—

preferred to make a settlement with the Companies, extending their tenure until 1971, at which distant date it was provided that a then new body—the London and Home Counties Joint Electricity Authority—should take possession. This was confirmed by Parliament in the London Electricity Acts of 1925 and the same legislation allowed the Companies to rationalise their generation by founding the London Power Company. The Central London Electricity, Limited, formed in 1936, is a merger of some of the Companies for distribution purposes.

The London and Home Counties Joint Electricity Authority is a legacy from the electrical planning reports that left the committee rooms at the end of the last war. It now consists of thirty-seven members, representing local authorities owning undertakings, supply companies, railway companies, and those County Councils having districts embraced by the Joint Authority. The Authority is empowered to take over, 'by agreement', distribution undertakings in its extensive area; so far, no company or council has been prepared to abdicate in favour of the Joint Authority. In 1931 it set up in business on its own account by promoting a special Act and purchasing a group of undertakings in the Twickenham-Kingston district.

As well as satisfying the needs of their own areas, the large London generating stations—company and publicly owned alike—export energy into the Grid network. The owners of the Grid, the Central Electricity Board, coordinate generation and bulk transmission in and around London, in the same way as they perform the task for the rest of the country, making superfluous the powers given originally to the Joint Electricity Authority for the organisation of the 'wholesale' side.

Yet evidently the Joint Authority is aware of its own failings, for it has published a memorandum proposing the creation of a single authority—a London Electricity Board—to take the place of the Joint Authority itself and the other seventy odd suppliers. It is suggested that the Board should consist of representatives of all local government authorities in the area affected, with the addition of members to be appointed by the staff and workpeople employed; the Board would standardise with all speed such things as tariffs, systems of supply, and hire arrangements for consumers' apparatus. If the principle of public ownership is to be happily wedded to the practical requirement for larger units, then regionalisation rather than nationalisation is the way forward for electricity distribution. On this assumption the idea of a London Electricity Board is sound; it means applying to the metropolis and its surroundings a method that has a far wider application. A national 'plan', however, would compel modifications to a scheme drawn up for any one area in isolation.

The conception of a London Electricity Board has been denounced by those who regard electricity supply mainly as a safe field for profitable investment and who advance the familiar argument that a public board would be bureaucratic and inefficient. There are also some municipal circles in opposition to the idea; they are representative of Councils that have built up successful electricity departments and fear that the loss of local control, implied in the suggestion of having a centralised body, will be to their disadvantage. They say that the area is too big for good administration in one piece; that the proposed basis for compensation is unfair to the Councils; that the Joint Electricity Authority, by publicising a scheme at all, is exceeding its duty and usurping the prerogative of the Government. While not underrating the weight of their objections, it would be helpful if those who speak for municipal supply would also try to grasp the central theme running through the Joint Authority's proposals—that a uniformly cheap and abundant service of electrical energy is impossible in the Greater London area for as long as the anachronism of the seventy and more suppliers continues.

A. M. F. P.

STANDARD CONSTRUCTION FOR SCHOOLS Post-War Building Studies, No. 2 (H M S O 6d)

Two questions are obviously crucial in relation to the Education Bill. Can the schools and the teachers be ready in time? The question of the emergency recruitment of teachers has been reported on by an Advisory Committee; here is a report on the emergency provision of schools. It is the work of a strong committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education and including administrators, teachers, architects and representatives of the building industry, under the chairmanship of Sir Robert Wood. It has the advantage in these days, where there are so many 'White Papers' of various colours calling for attention, of being extremely brief and practical.

'The interest of the children,' the Committee asserts, 'will best be served by securing as quickly as may be a substantial increase of school accommodation, provided always that it is of good design and properly adapted to the requirements of the post war period.' This leads on to prefabrication and standardisation and to the conclusion that experience during the war has shown that these can no longer be regarded as simply an abnormal method of construction or one that need result in shoddy buildings. The problem is not dealt with in technical language and it is illustrated by fifteen diagrams showing how such standardised schools could be built from a small number of structural elements to meet the needs of schools of different sizes and types and the requirements of different sites. These excellent diagrams and drawings make the subject very clear to the layman and will be invaluable to members of local education authorities.

The report makes it clear, however, that the cause of delay in school building is not merely a matter of labour and materials. It is also a matter of administration. The pre-war procedure often led to a delay of a year or more before any work could be done on the site. The suggestions of the County Architects' Society in an appendix are therefore of great importance. There are four main points. First, the 'multiplicity of approvals' required for building operations should be simplified and the approval of the Board of Education should suffice; the present position involves no less than twelve different stages before the building can even be commenced. It is suggested, further, that County Councils should receive sanction to borrow up to their total annual estimate without having to make individual application for each new school.

Secondly, the architects call attention to the difficulty in reaching agreement with local owners. 'The present position is that compulsory power to purchase cannot be exercised until the Board of Education is satisfied that no other suitable sites are available.' Here we are on the ground of the Uthwatt report and of the Government's planning policy in general. So long as this hangs fire it would seem inevitable that progress with educational reconstruction must be held up.

Thirdly, the architects recommend that the Board should 'work out now, and well in advance of demobilisation, a steady programme of work spread over a reasonable period . . . to enable local education authorities to secure their sites and to envisage their future architectural requirements' and that the Board should make arrangements for an adequate quota of controlled materials and labour.

Finally, they suggest that H M I who was only able before the war to authorise expenditure up to £300 should be given much greater authority.

The Education Bill is passing through Parliament as, in its main outline, an agreed measure; and there can be no excuse for delays in giving effect to it which are due to administrative dilatoriness. The reforms of procedure which will be required if a great building scheme is to be carried through should be adopted no less for a major task of social reconstruction than for the war

itself. The provision of new schools in the next few years is going to be a matter of not less urgency than the provision of tanks and aeroplanes is today.

The other cause of delay is more controversial. The representatives of the County Architects' Society were not sure that it would be necessary to abandon the traditional materials and methods of building. The Committee, however, did not agree with them. The need for school buildings, it says, 'will in our opinion be so unprecedentedly great that it is unlikely that it can be satisfied by normal peace-time methods.' The alternative methods are based on the use of a steel framework 'produced in large quantity by mass production to standard sizes'. Concrete is a possible alternative but involves greater difficulties in transport and handling.

The report assumes certain standards of accommodation, including a dining room for all schools and a class room for each class, and makes the important point that 'the accommodation of what are known as Modern or Senior schools should in future march with the standards normally accepted for Secondary schools'. It points out, too, the need for a further study of the problem of producing school *furniture* in adequate quantities, by applying the same principles—simple design and the use of new materials.

The one problem on which the report is perhaps not quite convincing is that of building schools on extremely restricted sites. Many people are concerned about the great cities which are already so built up that sites for schools are extremely difficult to find. For these areas the report really seems to have little to offer.

It should be noted that the Scottish Education Department has already sent out a circular to local education authorities calling upon them to reserve sites and it is to be hoped that the issue of this report will be followed up by similar action by the Board.

H. C. S.

PLANNING OUR NEW HOMES A Report by the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee (HMSO 3/-)

This readable and admirably illustrated Housing Report has caught the public imagination in Scotland, rather as the Beveridge Report caught that of both countries.

English readers will be chiefly interested in Chapters 4 and 5, which propose practical improvements in the details of fittings and equipment—especially of kitchen equipment and built-in storage space. An important innovation is the 'utility room', a room additional to or forming an annexe of the kitchen, where a housewife can do all those chores (washing, ironing, etc.) which should not be mixed up with the preparation of food. Incidentally, the Report recommends district heating, and a method of refuse disposal by means of an extra plug in the kitchen sink.

At the back of the Report, some model lay-outs are shown. These also represent an improvement on the last generation; but British public opinion (of all but the 'voiceless') is too apt to take 'improvement' as an excuse for not making a reform as efficient as it might be. Emphasis is properly—and for the first time—given to the overworked housewife's workshops—her kitchen and 'utility' room—and to some reasonable increase in the size of bedrooms and living-rooms. But considerations equally important have been pushed aside. A house should be regarded as the growing and experimenting space of a family; its shape (and 'mood') will tend to shape the pattern of the lives inside it; light, good insulation, good plumbing (sanitation has been very backward in Scotland) are no substitute for the sense of space and serenity that can and should be expressed in the internal lay-out and external design of a house.

V. W.

STATISTICS AND SOCIAL POLICY

The White Paper on National Income and Expenditure

G. D. N. Worswick

Whatever judgment we form of the Postwar Employment Policy outlined in the recent White Paper, Cmd. 6527, it is clear that the views of the 'modern' economists—of the Keynesians—have triumphed over the classical doctrine of *laissez-faire*. But there is another group of pioneers who may be justly satisfied. During the last two decades the economic statisticians—Bowley and Colin Clark are the best known—have been patiently trying to build up a picture of the National Income and its constituents from the available scraps of information. Their task has been particularly difficult because of the inadequacy of the statistics, and because many of the data were not presented in the form required by the economist. Much of their best work, indeed, has been done in making bricks with a minimum of straw. Their work has been of the utmost value; for it is becoming possible to *test* the validity of some points of economic theory against the facts. In addition they have tried to furnish the material which is essential for any government which wishes to exercise control over the economic life of the nation. And the Government is committed to the job of ensuring a high and stable level of employment after the war. A great step forward in the collection and publication of adequate statistics was taken in 1941 when, with his Budget Statement, Sir Kingsley Wood presented the first of the wartime series of White Papers entitled—'An Analysis of the Sources of War Finance and Estimates of the National Income and Expenditure': this year we have the fourth of the series. A far more extensive development of official economic statistics is promised for after the war in the Employment Policy Statement. It is 'proposed to develop the Annual White Paper on National Income and Expenditure by providing a much more complete analysis than has hitherto been possible of the constituent parts of the country's total expenditure. In particular, direct estimates will be made of the various types of capital expenditure and the various sources of savings. This will be, in effect, the Capital Budget of the nation's wealth'.

In addition, we are promised, on the basis of more detailed and more frequent statistics, the preparation of 'man-power budgets'. There will be regular information relating to savings, projected capital expenditure by public authorities and, as far as possible, by private industry. An *annual* census of production, monthly figures of production, stocks, etc., and annual and quarterly statements on the balance of payments are among the other items. Truly a Gargantuan meal for the economic statistician of the future! Any nostalgic yearnings of the 'old hands' for the ingenious statistical juggling of the past will surely be compensated by the handsome recognition now given to their efforts.

It is, of course, obvious that this new attitude to statistical data on the part of the Government is the direct result of the war. The amount of information

now at their disposal far exceeds anything known in the past. But very little of it is published. In fact the statistical blackout has been far stricter than can be justified by security reasons alone: it is certainly stricter than in any major belligerent country outside the U.S.S.R. The White Papers on National Income and Expenditure are the outstanding exception. The scope of these papers has been extended and their accuracy improved with each succeeding year. It may be of interest to set out some of the facts which can be obtained from the current issue (Cmd. 6520).

THE WHITE PAPER ON NATIONAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

Oddly enough, the total figure for the Net National Income (or Expenditure) is, under wartime conditions, of very little significance by itself. We see that it has risen from £4,604,000,000 in 1938, to £8,172,000,000 in 1943. At first sight the increase appears to be astonishing: nearly doubled in five years. But a considerable part of the increase is simply due to the rise in prices. The second reason why this particular figure is of little significance is that the constituents of National Expenditure have changed violently. Expenditure (at home and abroad) of public authorities has risen from £837,000,000 in 1938 to £5,187,000,000. From being a relatively minor consumer, the Government has become the greatest consumer of all—buying arms, clothing, food and so on for the Services. In normal peacetime conditions the total National Income acquires a much greater significance: for if the relative proportions of its constituents are not changing much, and prices are not changing violently, it is possible to calculate a reasonable price index with which to obtain estimates of the real National Income (or more correctly the N.I. at constant prices) which, within limits, provides a crude measure of the material prosperity of the nation.

INVESTMENT AND CONSUMPTION

The rôle of investment, as a determinant of the level of employment, is now familiar. If we classify as 'public investment' the Budget Deficit we see how the increase in public investment, though partially off-set by net disinvestment in the private sector, has been responsible for raising employment to its present level.

BUDGET DEFICIT AND PRIVATE INVESTMENT (£ MILLIONS)

	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
<i>Budget Deficit</i> ¹	—	—	1,101	1,554	1,754	1,924
<i>Net Private Investment</i> ²	305	362	109	- 82	- 140	- 175

A new estimate of private investment in 1938 is given on Page 9 of the White Paper and some of the figures are worth quoting here. Gross private investment (allowing for a fall in the value of stocks of £45,000,000) was £645,000,000, of which £340,000,000 were set aside to cover maintenance and depreciation, leaving a net investment of £305,000,000. The main items in gross investment were public utilities—£145,000,000, Buildings (including houses)—£360,000,000, plant and machinery—£120,000,000.

While in peacetime our aim will be to raise living standards, in wartime we try to press down consumption to the lowest level compatible with the health

¹ For this item we take that part of Central Government Expenditure requiring domestic finance which is *not* covered by revenue, surpluses of extra-budgeting funds and local authorities, and compensation received in respect of claims for war damage (cf. Table A).

² In the White Paper (Table 1) the "increase in work in progress on Government account held under private finance" is separated. We include it in net private investment.

and efficiency of the population. Item 3 of Table C2—'Personal expenditure on consumption in terms of constant prices' is the statistical aspect of ration-books and shortages. From the same table we can calculate an index of current prices of all consumption goods and services.

PERSONAL CONSUMPTION AND MARKET PRICES (1938=100)

	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
Personal Expenditure on Consumption at constant prices	100	100	88	82	81	79
Index of Market Prices ¹ ..	100	103	120	137	147	154

Total personal consumption fell sharply between 1939 and 1941. Since then the decline has been relatively slight. We now consume less than four-fifths of what we did in 1938. It should be noted, however, that the *civilian* population is smaller than it was in 1938, though this is partly off-set by the fact that the figures quoted above include the cash expenditure of the Forces in shops, cinemas and bars. The price index should not be confused with the Cost of Living Index, because it includes *all* consumption expenditure, including luxuries of *all* classes. Nevertheless, the difference between this figure and the C.o.L. index is remarkable. We cannot discuss it in detail here, but it is clear that the next figures have a lot to do with it.

SUBSIDIES AND INDIRECT TAXES (£ MILLIONS)

	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
Subsidies	15	20	70	140	175	190
Indirect Taxes specifically on consumption	439	489	588	777	939	1,073

The main sources for this increase in indirect tax revenues are, of course, drink and tobacco, on which we spent £1,053,000,000 in 1943 as against £442,000,000 in 1938. Price indices are not given in the White Paper for the separate items of expenditure, food, fuel and clothing, household goods and so on. Nevertheless, it is clear that the real consumption of the first two items has definitely fallen. Expenditure on clothing in 1943 was exactly the same as in 1938: this is equivalent to a cut in volume of about one half. Money outlay on household goods was only two-thirds of 1938, so that the volume consumed was probably down to one-third. These figures, taken with the increase in the hours of work, give some measure of the war effort of Britain's civilian population.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONAL INCOME

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ruffled the otherwise smooth flow of his Budget speech this year by his references to wage increases. There is no question that this 'trouble' will occur again and again after the war. We have already noted that indirect taxes on consumption, which hit mainly the working-class, far outweigh subsidies. Let us look at the question in a different way by calculating the share of various classes of income in the total. For this purpose it is desirable to exclude from the National Income the Pay and Allowances of H.M. Forces (which are given separately for the first time). In this way we get an approximate picture of the distribution of the product of industry (including agriculture and services) *before taxation*.

¹ Obtained by dividing item (1) by item (3) in Table C2.

THE SHARE OF RENTS, PROFITS, SALARIES AND WAGES IN THE NATIONAL INCOME¹%

			1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
Rent	..	..	8.4	8.0	7.0	6.2	5.7	5.4
Profits ²	..	..	29.1	30.7	33.2	34.1	34.4	34.2
Salaries	..	..	24.3	23.6	21.9	21.0	19.8	19.3
Wages	..	..	38.2	37.7	37.9	38.7	40.1	41.1
Total	..	..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The change in the distribution of gross income (before taxation) during the war years shows the pattern which one would expect. The share of profits increased fairly sharply till 1941, since when the figure has altered little; but the upward trend is clearly seen. The share of wages initially declined but began to recover in 1941, and is now above the prewar level. Salaries are less susceptible to adjustments corresponding to increases in prices, and rents are fixed absolutely in money terms. The share of both these items of a growing National Income has therefore declined markedly. There is no indication in this Table of the 'disproportion' of wages to prices which the Chancellor mentioned.

The distribution of Income between 'social classes', to use a very general phrase, is not all we want to know. For some 'salaries' may be lower than some 'wages'. We need also to know the distribution of personal incomes, irrespective of their source. Table G of the White Paper gives us these data for 1938 and 1942. It also shows the effect of Income Tax. We have space only for a summary.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE INCOME AND RANGES OF INCOME 1938 AND 1942

Range of Income before Tax £	1938			1942		
	No. of Incomes 000's	Aggregate Income before tax £ mill.	Proportion retained after taxation at 1938-1939 rates %	No. of Incomes 000's	Aggregate Income before tax £ mill.	Proportion retained after taxation at 1942-1943 rates %
Under 250	—	2,681	99.8	—	3,356	97.0
250—500	1,745	595	97.1	5,500	1,854	85.4
500—1,000	500	350	88.9	1,110	740	72.0
1,000—2,000	195	270	83.0	295	413	61.3
2,000—10,000	97	360	71.1	102	366	48.1
10,000 and over	8	170	49.4	8	170	20.6

These figures must be treated with caution. We must not, for example, jump to the conclusion that, because the number of incomes in the £250—500 range has risen from 1.7,000,000 to 5.5,000,000 that the proletariat has joined the bourgeoisie! For it is *real* income which counts. Nevertheless, a certain evening-up in gross income distribution is discernible. The third and last columns of the table show clearly that increased income tax and surtax have carried the equalising process a good deal further. On the other hand, indirect taxation, which works in the opposite way, is also exceedingly heavy. What we should like to have, and what we shall certainly need after the war, is some measure of the incidence of *all* taxes on different incomes.

SAVING

Apart from the new estimates of investment in 1938, there are quite a

¹ Excluding pay and allowances of H.M. Forces.

² Including interest and professional earnings.

number of additions to the statistics in the White Paper as compared with the earlier issues. Some new data are given on Savings. Here, indeed, very little is known and it is difficult to say whether the changes which are occurring during the war will have any permanent significance. The mildness of the rise in 'impersonal saving' is obviously due to E.P.T., while rationing and shortages have clearly forced many of us to save individually. The figures are, however, so striking as to be worth noting.

NET PRIVATE SAVING (£ MILLIONS)

	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
Net Personal Saving ¹ . .	158	261	727	950	1,073	1,407
Net Impersonal Saving ¹ ..	170	180	190	195	200	210

CONCLUSION

In this note we have not aimed at any very profound analysis. We have simply drawn attention to some of the more interesting facts which appear from a study of the White Paper on National Income, and hinted at the implications and the importance of these statistics in the framing of social policy. The level of consumption, the incidence and burden of taxation, the share of wages in the National Income—these are among the important political issues of the future. One of the many guises in which the reactionary is appearing at present is that of the 'humane' person, who deplores the cold, statistical approach of the social planner. This 'humanity' really represents an unwillingness to face (or to disclose) facts. Statistics have their limitations, but they have their value. A knowledge of the facts we have mentioned here, as well as many others, is an essential pre-requisite of the fulfilment of the progressive economic policy upon which the future happiness of the people of this country depends.²

¹ After allowing for accrued taxation. Net personal saving does not include income tax credits, which were running at £170,000,000 a year in 1943.

² The production and dissemination of such information has been essentially the special characteristic of Fabian propaganda. Readers who desire further factual information are reminded that a revised edition of *Facts for Socialists* (15th edition) has just been published.—EDITOR.

RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS

The McNair Report

Barbara Drake

While the McNair Committee are primarily concerned with the long-term problem of the permanent supply of teachers, this problem cannot in practice be disassociated from that of any emergency plan of post-war recruitment and training. The two problems are one and inseparable. Thus, the prospect, on the one hand, of a promising career, will react at once to encourage young people and others to prepare now to enter the teaching profession. Any lowering, on the other hand, of professional standards in the immediate post-war period, or influx into the service of unsuitable persons, must have serious repercussions on the future of the schools. Nor are the Committee's proposals unrelated to immediate post-war needs. 'We realise,' the Committee state in introducing the Report, 'the immense importance to the country of securing as teachers an adequate supply of men and women of character, and we are convinced that nothing but drastic reforms, involving the expenditure of considerable additional sums of money will secure what the schools need, and what children and young people deserve.'

SUPPLY OF TEACHERS

There were in 1938 some 200,000 full-time teachers in elementary and secondary schools (170,000 elementary, 30,000 secondary) with an average yearly wastage of about 12,000. The average output, on the other hand, of teachers from the training colleges and university training departments, was not more than between 6,000 and 7,000 (5,000 training college, 1,500 university), the gap between wastage and output being made good by the appointment of unqualified teachers (in 1938, 1,000 uncertificated teachers to elementary schools, 700 untrained teachers to secondary schools), the re-entry of teachers to the service, and a decline in the school population.

In order to carry out the reforms outlined in the new Education Bill, there is also an estimated post-war need for an additional 80,000 to 90,000 teachers, or for a minimum establishment of 250,000, involving at the present rate of wastage an annual intake to the profession of about 15,000. The problem of post-war recruitment is then an immediate and major one.

NORMAL CHANNELS OF RECRUITMENT

The main sources of supply before the war were the grant-earning secondary (grammar) schools. These schools in 1938 comprised some 19,000 boys and girls between the ages of 18 and 19 eligible for a training college or University course. To this figure may be added another 2,000 possible recruits from the 'public' and independent schools. This potential, however, of 21,000 recruits represents as well the major source of supply to all other professions, to the Civil Service, and increasingly to higher positions in commerce and industry. There is today a growing tendency for socially ambitious parents to direct their children in secondary schools to paths hitherto exclusively trodden by the 'public' school-boy or girl, rather than to teaching, as offering a more promising career.

The problem of supply from normal pre-war sources thus 'reduces itself to an absurdity'. As a preliminary step, the Committee advise that maintenance and other allowances to older pupils in secondary schools shall be placed on a more adequate basis than now, and parents no longer tempted to withdraw their children from school for economic reasons. It is further proposed that a campaign be started at once in these schools (including 'public' schools) to make known to the higher forms the claims, conditions and prospects of the teaching profession. The Committee, however, at the same time, look to new and wider fields of recruitment.

NEW SOURCES OF SUPPLY

A great majority of older children in this country are in senior or 'modern' schools, and the Committee take the view that it would be a profound mistake to suppose that, under any effective distribution of children in different types of secondary school, all the more intelligent children would go to 'Grammar' schools. With a raising of the school leaving age to 16, the 'modern' school may be expected to develop a sixth form of its own leading to a training college or university course, and to retain its more able pupils up to 18 or over. The problem, indeed, may prove to be 'not so much one of finding teachers to raise the age as of raising the age to find the teachers'. If only one% of children in 'modern' schools could be recruited to the teaching profession, there would be an additional annual output of no less than 5,000 teachers. The Committee, therefore, advise that local education authorities shall be required to submit proposals for the continued education up to 18 and older of boys and girls in 'modern' and junior technical schools, who may provisionally be judged suited to the teaching profession.

Other new sources of supply suggested by the Committee are industry, commerce and the professions. There are, it is pointed out, intelligent and educated men and women still comparatively young who, after a spell in some other occupation, which in the case of women might have been in the home, would be glad to adopt teaching as a career, if a clear way into the profession could be made known to them. The Committee regard it, indeed, as a misfortune that, under the present system, a great majority of teachers have the same educational background, from school to college or university, and then back to school, and would count it an immense advantage if more prospective teachers, before they entered the profession, could have experienced life in some other capacity than that of full-time students. The proposal has a special bearing on the immediate post-war problem, and the prospects of recruitment from among the thousands of young men and women now in the Forces and the Auxiliary Services. There are young women especially, with a good secondary or university education, and now holding responsible positions, but with no definite plans for a future career, who might be willing recruits to the teaching profession. The Committee wisely insist that persons of mature years should not be required to undergo a prolonged period of training, but should be entitled, during a specific period, to adequate maintenance (with additions for a wife and children), and should enter the salary scale at a point which gives due recognition to their age and experience.

THE MARRIED WOMEN TEACHERS

Women represent 70% of the teaching profession, and the retirement, voluntary or enforced, of women on marriage, is a major factor in the heavy annual wastage of teachers. There are no exact figures available; but, for the pre-war annual loss of 8,000 teachers due to causes other than age, infirmity and death, the ban on marriage must be held at least largely responsible. Teaching, indeed, for women has come to be regarded as a celibate profession

and this, in itself, must tend to depress recruitment, and to deter young girls who naturally look forward to marriage. The schools, in turn, have suffered from the absence of women teachers with the broader knowledge and experience of married life, and children of their own. 'It is wrong,' the Report states, 'to accept a policy which, in fact, rules that women with children of their own shall, as a class, be debarred from making any contribution to the schools, beyond that of sending their children to them.'

To what exact extent a removal of the marriage ban will make good the present heavy wastage of teachers, it is impossible to foretell. The Committee take the sensible view that, if a married woman has the time and inclination to teach, she should be encouraged to do so, and the necessary arrangements made to suit her convenience, in particular, the needs of motherhood. Such arrangements would include the option of part-time employment, or some readjustment of hours at the beginning or end of the day, with corresponding modifications of salary. 'Refresher' courses should be available for those returning to school after a prolonged period of absence. 'It is regrettable,' the Report states, 'that, generally speaking, the schools do not know how, or are not allowed to make use of the part-time teacher.' Yet, there are qualified women, and also men, who could make a valuable contribution in this way, and whose services are now lost to the schools.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

Not less important than to widen the field of recruitment is to abolish conditions in the schools which deter ambitious young people from becoming teachers. The nature of school buildings and size of classes can make or mar the satisfaction that teachers feel in their work. These affect directly their efficiency and comfort, and even their health. Recruitment is bound to suffer so long as there are school premises which are ugly, sordid, mean, or otherwise ill-adapted to their purpose. Large classes are a more difficult problem. They depress recruitment and, yet to get rid of them, magnifies the need for additional teachers. The Committee have, nevertheless, no hesitation in saying that a major factor in recruitment is the size of classes. Nor can they see any justification for larger classes in 'modern' schools than in 'grammar' schools, nor in schools for younger than for older children.

Other factors suggested by the Committee as affecting recruitment are the extraneous duties only remotely connected with teaching which too often are thrown on teachers. Where such duties can be performed by less qualified persons, it is clearly uneconomical to use teachers for the purpose. Another factor is said to be the narrow life of the schools, and a feeling that teachers are a race apart. The Committee believe that it would be a positive advantage to the schools if the presence of all teachers all the time could be regarded as unnecessary, and they advise that teachers shall be encouraged to take a more active part in social affairs, and new opportunities given them of 'sabbatical' terms (or years) for the purpose of study or experience at home and abroad.

SALARIES AND RECOGNITION

Even more emphatic are the Committee on the importance of a rise, and a big rise, in teachers' salaries, more especially at the higher levels. 'Teaching is indeed a form of social service, but it is also a bread and butter affair.' In comparing the certificated teachers (Grade III) with a junior executive officer entering the Civil Service at 18, the maximum salary is shown to be £348 (£274—women) in one case and £510 (£405—women) in the other. Even in secondary schools, an assistant teacher can hardly rise above £600, or a head teacher above £1,000, while a Civil Servant who becomes an assistant

secretary has a salary range from £1,150 to £1,500. A comparison between teaching and other professions, or with leading positions in commerce and industry, shows even greater disparities. No less unjustifiable are the differential scales, and the anomalies arising from the growth of two parallel and overlapping systems of elementary and secondary education. It is an obvious absurdity that, while in elementary schools the advantage in salary is with the certificated teachers irrespective of a university degree, the position in secondary schools is reversed and the advantage here transferred to graduate teachers, regardless of professional training.

The Committee advise that teachers' salaries shall be substantially increased, and one basic scale replace the four scales in elementary schools and the two scales in secondary schools, with additions for special qualifications and experience, and for work in London. Teachers holding responsible positions, such as deputy heads, further should be entitled to additional substantial rewards, and these posts more widely distributed than now. No opinion is expressed on 'equal pay', except to point out that, with the advent of family allowances, the case for it will be greatly strengthened.

The Committee finally propose to abolish the term 'certificated teacher', and to recognise only one grade of teacher, namely the 'qualified teacher', or the teacher who has satisfactorily completed an approved course of education and training. The Board, however, should have discretion to recognise suitable persons not having followed a normal course, but with good academic or other attainments. The provision gives the necessary elasticity to the field of recruitment, and again has a special bearing on the immediate post-war problem.

ORGANISATION OF TRAINING

In order to ensure an adequate number and quality of training institutions, and to fuse them, on a convenient area basis, into a national training system, the Committee propose to set up a small National Training Council, with the duty of advising the Board on all matters relating to training. The Committee, however, are divided as to the form of area organisation, and offer two alternative schemes. The first scheme proposes to bring the entire system of training under university auspices. Each university would establish a school (or schools) of education, to consist of an organic federation of approved training institutions, working in cooperation with other educational bodies and responsible for the training and assessment of all those seeking to be recognised as qualified teachers. All candidates would not be university graduates, and the course may be expected to vary with the age-range of the pupils, and the subject it is intended to teach; but all qualified teachers would have equal status in the profession. The second scheme involves less radical changes and prefers a reconstruction of the existing joint Examination Boards, representing the universities, the training colleges and the local education authorities, but would leave the training colleges as a permanently separate element within a coordinated system.

There can be no question as to which scheme is preferable. The joint Boards have failed admittedly, save in the matter of examinations, to promote any real cooperation between the university and the training college. Too many training colleges again are small, ill-equipped and poorly staffed. Nor is it a good thing that intending teachers should be segregated more than is necessary in specialised institutions. For the training colleges to remain as separate entities would tend to perpetuate existing social and economic distinctions between the graduate and the non-graduate teacher, and so prejudice any true unification of the teaching profession.

The universities, on the other hand, are the natural leaders and focus of any national scheme for the education and training of teachers. They could

use their influence, not only to raise where necessary training college standards, and to facilitate in suitable cases a transfer of students during their course between college and university, but also to encourage experiment in the opening of training college doors to students other than intending teachers, who may prefer a more realistic to a university course.

The Committee are unanimous in recommending an early abolition of the 'pledge', by which young people at the student stage are required to commit themselves to the teaching profession. They propose instead a more adequate provision of university scholarships and other aids to students so as to meet new needs and to absorb a greatly increased output of eligible candidates coming from secondary schools. This, in turn, is likely to involve the foundation of new universities as well as of training colleges. (In the U S A, expenditure per head of population on university education is just five times as great as in England and Wales.) There is again unanimity in recommending an extension of the normal training college course from two to three years, with the option of a fourth year for specialist study. There would be no change in the university training departments, and the degree course followed as now by one year of professional training. It is finally proposed that all teachers shall be required to serve one year of probation in the schools before final recognition as qualified teachers. The proposal represents a necessary and valuable safeguard, more especially in an emergency period, against the entry of unsuitable persons to the profession.

FABIAN EVIDENCE TO BEVERIDGE¹

A Criticism

by T. Balogh and G. D. N. Worswick

If people are socialists they are so because they believe that without, if not total, at least far-reaching public control over the means of production a full development of the country and the assurance of social justice are not possible. It follows that in advocating reforms within capitalism socialists should always keep the ultimate aim in view. For this reason it is unfortunate that a 'Group of Fabians' should have submitted the evidence to Sir William Beveridge recently published by the Society, and that the Society should have given it—however qualified—approval.² Since the Group must have known that Sir William was provided with expert economic advice they ought to have concentrated on the political and sociological aspects of the problem. In

¹ *The Prevention of General Unemployment*: Evidence submitted to Sir William Beveridge in connection with his investigation into employment by a Group of Fabians, Research Series No. 79.

² This note was written before the publication of the Labour Party's Programme for Full Employment. The ideas expressed by the 'Group of Fabians' have clearly exerted a great influence on the Labour Party statement, which is still more regrettable.

fact, the only reference to the political aspects is the naïve remark : 'with goodwill from industrialists and bankers, *none of whom stand to gain anything from general depressions*, a very great deal to prevent them can be hopefully undertaken.' This after the May Report and the downfall of the 1931 Labour Government, the reckless and bitter opposition to the New Deal spending programme and the sabotage of the Blum Government in 1937.

A successful policy of full employment in fact requires three things: (1) A knowledge of the means; (2) a knowledge of the ends which are desired; and (3) the will to achieve the desired ends. It is about the means to full employment that the discussion has proceeded furthest; the economists have, in fact, produced an almost embarrassing armoury of weapons with which to attack the problem : Deficit spending on public investment or mass consumption, re-distributive taxation, subsidies to private investment, large-scale capital exports to backward countries, price control to squeeze monopoly profits; these are but some of the devices at hand. But who is going to use these weapons, and for what purposes?

Let us consider the will to full employment. All previous attempts in peace-time to pursue expansionist policies by democratic governments have met with strong resistance by capitalists. Was it because the capitalists were simply stupid? Or was it not because they realised that full employment could only strengthen the hands of the workers; that economic security for the masses would release vast reserves of political agitation and energy, that sectional divisions among the workers would crumble, that a determined Progressive party might ride on the success of a full employment policy much further on the way to socialism? All this is surely germane to any realistic discussion of full employment.

It may be objected that all the major political parties, including the Conservatives, are committed to a policy of full employment, and that it would be improper to doubt the validity of these promises. But even if we act upon the assumption that all political post-dated cheques will in future be honoured, there remains the problem of the *ends* of a full employment policy. Is our objective full employment as such: that is to say, are we satisfied if everybody has a job, never mind whether it is useful or not? If not, we must set out our aims and then see which of the many means to full employment we must choose. Let us state the socialist aims in the most general terms: they are (1) a rising standard of living over-all, rising as fast as is compatible with the desire for freedom and leisure; (2) a steady reduction in the inequality of incomes, as fast as political conditions will allow. Such aims at once exclude anything savouring of 'public works', even if they are dressed up as a 'Category B' public investment! It means that from our armoury we choose as a main weapon either redistributive taxation, or reduction of monopoly profits, either by Government control or better still by outright nationalisation of monopolies. If we want to tax, we tax the rich and not the poor. If we have qualms about the way the poor might spend higher money incomes we can 'guide' their consumption through providing educational, health and recreational services on a bigger scale, by subsidising the prices of those things which are good for them. Or let us take a wider view. Is it enough merely to abolish idleness, even in a sensible way? Does not the efficiency of British industry as a whole need drastic improvement if Britain is to be able to fulfil her world commitments? Britain's economic weakness contributed to the humiliating policy of appeasement. Let us put the point in a statistical way. Full employment between the wars would have brought an annual national output of, on the average, some 15% above what it was in fact. Is that enough, or cannot measures designed to increase industrial efficiency improve considerably on that figure?

There are other issues of a political character which are of prime importance. What about wages? Is full employment compatible with free wage

bargaining of Trade Unions? What about mobility of labour? These are issues on which a clear and definite statement is called for.

Instead, a great part of the report discusses 'institutional' questions, which simply evade the social and political issues involved. The most important criticism of this document is political in its character and concerns not so much what has been said, but what has been left completely out of account.

Let us consider the evidence in more detail.¹ For reasons which follow partly from a failure to recognise political realities the distribution of space between different subjects implies and encourages a fatal misconception about the issues and difficulties involved in attaining and maintaining full employment. But the 'Fabians' were themselves not very clear what they were after. At one point they very rightly emphasise that 'thought on this problem should not be obsessed with the past existence of the Trade cycle'. But then it continues: 'It is not necessary that *all* our plans should take an anti-cyclical form.' But why should *any* of the plans be based on the hypothesis that business fluctuations will continue?

The first five 'proposals' in the Report are propositions and not proposals. Already the first is far from being generally acceptable. *Structural* unemployment cannot be logically (or statistically) separated from *general* unemployment. Occupational, in contrast to geographical, mobility has always been very great and even geographical mobility is greater than it is customarily assumed. Moreover, the *persistence* of depression in certain industries before the war was due to the lack of a general expansionist policy.

The third proposition states that there are no *a priori* grounds to favour stimulus to investment rather than consumption. Surely a Progressive (even if he were not Socialist) must *a priori* be in favour of an immediate rise in consumption as long as inequality persists. The only argument which may legitimately override this preference is national defence. It is also extremely misleading to suggest that no sharp division can be drawn between a *housing* programme and the stimulus to investment in general. While a housing programme serves to stimulate the *consumption* of *housing* directly, the stimulus to private investment in capital equipment to produce consumption goods is an indirect measure which will be effective only if private entrepreneurs think that the stimulant is sufficient.

Much sharper objection must be taken to the fourth 'proposition' coming from Fabians. We now know that the reduction of the rates of interest is insufficient to halt a slump. Most ordinary business investment is so much more influenced by risk (especially of obsolescence) which might be as high as 25% per annum and is not usually much less than 10% per annum that fiddling about with a rate of interest at about 2% or 3% is unlikely to help, at any rate in the short run. On the other hand, to stimulate *private* investment directly by subsidies as capital intensity increases may simply mean doles to the rich and the rentier, unless they are given under strict supervision. Even then subsidies might serve only to increase excess capacity rather than productivity.

Turning to the five additional 'proposals' it is regrettable that in brushing over the problems of a truly full employment policy—the problem of wages and prices, etc.—they spend an exasperating amount of time on points which can hardly be expected to yield any fruitful conclusion.

Their main 'anti-cyclical' weapon—is to reduce taxation to produce a budget deficit. And of all taxes they select—the income tax! Without discussing the problem of how social priority must influence the Government in selecting the best economic technique, they hit on about the worst possible method from a socialist point of view. Under the conditions of a slump a high proportion of the tax remitted will be saved. Consequently a very big

¹ Owing to lack of space a number of criticisms have been left out.

cut in income tax will be required before the spending of the rich and the investment of capitalists encouraged by the reduction in income tax between them restore 'prosperity'. Meanwhile the wealth of the rich increases through the increase of the national debt.

If 'global' measures of deficit finance are called for the proper procedure is to reduce *indirect* taxes, which fall almost entirely on consumption, or to subsidise prices of mass consumption goods if it is desired to 'direct' the recovery along certain lines, e.g. in the event of the initial fall in employment occurring in an export industry whose products can be consumed at home.

For Socialists the prime weapon should be increasing direct taxation which reduces voluntary saving and which can be spent on 'durable' equipment of the country, foreign investment or on stimulating mass consumption. In this way we deal with the employment problem without *increasing* the inequality of the distribution of wealth. The same partiality to 'appeasement' of the capitalist class is also shown in the proposals for stimulating investment and more especially in the section on 'institutional' reform.

The one exception to the liberal mildness of the report consists in the treatment of the problem of banking. To this is devoted not merely a page of the report, but a three page appendix as well. Now, given exchange control the banks could not possibly sabotage any kind of monetary or employment policy. The Bank of England can change the cash basis of the joint stock banks at will, so that the former controls the total value of credit. If the joint stock banks refuse to lend to the Government in a slump (and in a boom the problem does not arise) the answer is borrowing from the Central Bank. As long as the exchange control functions the control of banks is not an *essential* step in establishing full employment (though 'we have naturally no objection to nationalising the banks'). This insistence on nationalising or controlling the banks provides the opponents of progressive policies with ready-made arguments against all reform. The argument that banks hold a sort of asset which does not represent *savings* is itself a fallacy. The incomes created by State expenditure are as genuine incomes as any other incomes. If part of them is saved it represents as genuine saving as any other saving. To single out savings which are kept in the form of bank-deposits and declare that they are not genuine seems an extremely odd procedure. Why should they be less genuine than, e.g., war-bonds?

The 'finance' business is a red herring, and a dangerous one. It diverts attention from the basic short-comings of the capitalist system and encourages the belief, to which abundant support is given by money cranks of all kinds, that all our troubles are due to some slight maladjustment of the monetary system, which a little bit of tinkering will put right.

The doctrines of this document might have been helpful in 1930, but they show no sign of having progressed beyond that date. They disregard the prospective international background to Britain's post-war problems. They neglect the political lessons of the last fearful fifteen years. They will create a vast amount of misunderstanding. The publication of the document has been a distinct disservice to the Labour Movement.

Authors' Reply

The authors of the pamphlet entitled *The Prevention of General Unemployment* were interested to read the criticisms of their views contained in the above article by Messrs Balogh and Worswick. They do not feel that any lengthy or detailed reply is necessary. Members of the Fabian Society will either have read the pamphlet in question, in which case they will be able to judge for themselves how much of the present article is relevant, while if they have not read the pamphlet we could only defend it by repeating all that it contains.

It is, however, perhaps worth mentioning three typical points. Messrs Balogh and Worswick accuse us of offering economic advice whereas we should have concentrated upon political doctrine, that we are too concerned to 'appease' industrialists, and that we select an instrument of policy (the reduction of income tax during a depression) that would benefit the rich rather than the poor.

We find it difficult to take the first argument seriously. It would be sad indeed if, as Fabians, we had nothing better to offer to Sir William Beveridge than the vague, dogmatic and tendentious political generalisations at which Messrs Balogh and Worswick hint during the course of their article. Surely the time has come for Fabians to deal with technical problems in detail and in their own right, and without deferring, with undue humility, to 'expert economic advice' as though they had none of their own to offer.

In accusing us of 'appeasing the industrialist class'—whatever that may mean—Messrs Balogh and Worswick conveniently omit any reference to the passages that do not suit their apparent desire to misrepresent our views. We said, for example :

'While we are dealing with the subject of investment we should like to point out that there is one simple method of controlling the capital outlay of an industry, and that is—by owning it. The extension of the socialised section of industry is a certain method of preventing general unemployment. It is inconceivable that any society should long endure an insufficient flow of purchasing power or unnecessary poverty springing therefrom, if it possessed complete control over the spending power of its industry. There is, therefore, every reason to socialise industries as far as possible . . .'

Is that 'appeasing the capitalist class'? Could anything be plainer? Why was this context omitted in quoting a single sentence divorced from it?

And it is notable, as a sad comment upon their intellectual consistency, that Messrs Balogh and Worswick go on, almost at once, to denounce us for not 'appeasing' the bankers. They say :

'This insistence on nationalising or controlling the banks provides the opponents with ready made arguments against all reform'

and therefore we ought not to have advocated even the *control* of the banks. It would seem that Messrs Balogh and Worswick are eager to have their cake and eat it too—at any rate in the matter of 'appeasing capitalists'.

Finally, we see no necessity for recanting over our proposal to reduce income tax. It does not appear to have occurred to Messrs Balogh and Worswick that income tax is now collected from most incomes, and that reductions in it could be said to increase, and not diminish, the progressiveness of all taxation above the income tax limit. Nor are we the least opposed to reducing indirect taxes—but we would prefer to see them permanently removed, rather than temporarily reduced during depressions.

We feel compelled to add that we do not see how misrepresentation of this kind can benefit the causes for which Fabians care.

THE RIGHT USE OF OPINION SURVEYS

A Problem of Democratic Town Planning¹

by Marianne Walter, A.R.I.B.A.

Our deficiencies in town planning have often been ascribed to the lack of active public opinion. The citizens of a town have little choice in the design and siting of dwellings and even less in the environment of their town. Many Surveys of opinion have been carried out lately to find out 'what people want', with the object of incorporating their views in future town planning schemes.

FREQUENT MISTAKES IN SURVEYING

Unscientific methods may, however, lead to false conclusions as to the real feeling of the public. Even such simple errors as pitfalls of vague terminology have usually not been avoided. The Women's Advisory Housing Council were enlightened enough to enquire in the course of one survey what young women meant by the term 'home'—and found that it was hardly ever interpreted in the material sense ('house', for instance), but most frequently as 'A place of peace, comfort and privacy'. How then are we to interpret it if we find in *People's Homes* (by Mass Observation, 1943) that 48% of the people in 'Subtown' like their 'neighbourhood', but 72% like their 'homes'? Subtown is described as an unattractive dormitory, with houses of the late Victorian tunnel-back type, and a 'deadly air of monotony about the district'. The neighbourhood is made up of such houses, in very long streets, 'all over half a mile long and running parallel with each other' (*ibid.*, p. 22).

72% of the people in this slum district like their 'home' as compared with 70% in 'Garden Ville', and a naïve observer concluded that people seemed quite satisfied with living in 'homes' like the Subtown ones (mark that the word 'home' is here used in a different sense, as a 'dwelling', just to show you how confusion arises!). The conclusion thus drawn (*not* by Mass Observation) contains another frequent fallacy: That the difference between 70% and 72% is of statistical significance.

In another survey questions such as the following were asked: 'Where would you like to make your home after the war, in (a) a City or big town, (b) a Suburb or small town?' with option to mark either (a) or (b). The question may easily be interpreted in different ways. 'A city' is put in contradistinction to a 'Suburb'—a girl wanting to live in the suburb of a large town might opt for (a) or (b), and a person wanting to live in a small town, but not

¹ An Analysis based on the following ten War-time Surveys:—(1) *War-Time Social Survey: The Location of Dwellings in Scottish Towns*, by Dennis Chapman; (2) *People's Homes* by Mass-Observation, 1943; (3) *Design of Post-War Houses*, by The Standing Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations; Three Surveys by The Women's Advisory Housing Council: (4) *Survey of Women's Needs*, (5) *Survey of Younger Women's Needs*, (6) *Rural Evidence*; (7) *Civic Design and the Home*, by Arnold Whittick (1943); (8) *When we Build Again*, a Bournville Village Trust Research Publication, 1941; Two Surveys published by the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee in "Planning Our New Homes" (1944): (9) *Evidence from H. M. Forces*, (10) *Evidence from Workers in Industry*.

in a suburb, would be just as confused. As they have not been told what town they are to regard as a big one, another uncertainty arises. A London girl may think of a town of 200,000 inhabitants as 'small', while to the girl from the village it seems 'big'.

In one survey we learn, incidentally, that where any dissatisfaction with flats was expressed, it came from inhabitants of the third and fourth storeys of blocks without lifts. But this significant fact is not even mentioned in the statistical results. Here, as in one or two other surveys, one cannot help feeling that they have been conducted with an eye to propaganda (in this case against flats), which renders them of course much less valuable.

An experienced investigator knows that answers are influenced not only by the way in which questions are put, but also (and this is less often realised) by the order in which they are asked.

The Interim Report of the Conservative Subcommittee on Housing and some critics of the LCC plan state that these surveys show that 90% to 95% of the people prefer houses to flats. This is simply not correct. The figure is mainly based on one survey (Birmingham), where only householders, but not 'lodgers', single or old people, etc., were asked. In *Planning Our New Homes* (by the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee, 1944), p. xx, we read that in H M Forces 67% think blocks of flats suitable for single people as against 2% who prefer 2-storey houses for them. The number of dwellings required for the increasing proportion of single people and elderly folk without children is, however, nothing like so small as the residual 5% or 10% of the population, as derived from the above figures of 90—95%. If flats are to be provided for such people, including those whose children have left home, a greater number of flats than family houses will be needed.

THE GALLUP POLL METHOD OF TOWN PLANNING

Surveys containing such easily avoidable mistakes are so often used as the main basis of argument by people in responsible positions that the matter requires public discussion. The fundamental question the planner must ask however is: What pattern of town shall we get by making such statistical results the basis of plans? The result will be a town pattern, which people definitely dislike (as can be seen from these surveys). This contradiction arises out of the inadequacy of the usual sort of survey (though not of all), and from the fact that persons questioned can on the whole, observe and criticise detail, but cannot relate it to the whole.

According to the ten surveys, bungalows appear to be wanted by 13% to 52% of the people, houses by 22% to 70%, flats by 7% to 33% (the last figure is given by the Women's Advisory Housing Council's Survey of Younger Women; but in Leeds it seems that 62% of the corporation tenants prefer a central flat to a house in a suburb). 80% to 85% want to live in very large towns, mostly in the outer ring, but not more than a quarter of a mile from a good shopping centre, park, country or playground—all quite incompatible with a high percentage of bungalows and 'private' gardens.

If we calculate the area of a town of a million inhabitants on the (frequent) assumption that 90% of the people like, and are therefore entitled to, detached villas with private gardens, the residential area alone would be roughly 28,000 acres and the total town area about 63,000 acres, the overall density being 16 persons to the acre. Applied to Manchester, we would have to evacuate 296,800 persons; applied to the County of London with four million inhabitants (in 1938) we would have to ask about 3,000,000 people to leave the County area. The Surveys inform us, however, that not more than about 10% of the people living in large towns want to leave them, while a number of smaller town dwellers want to move into them. The fact that the whole of a town

area is not 'residential' is constantly overlooked by those who wish to rebuild even very large towns on the "12 houses per acre" principle.¹

If we use opinion surveys merely to add up preferences in a simple mathematical Gallup-poll way, we would in our town planning schemes perpetuate the very worst features of the sprawling, unorganised, monotonous, inefficient con-urbations of the past.

THE BACKGROUND OF OPINION

Wise guidance cannot be expected from adding up expressed opinions, advanced views are not very common and do not grow easily in a poor environment. Who would expect the Ministry of Health to act upon the opinion of 53% of the women in one survey, who prefer confinement at home to a maternity home? The Ministry points out in its Annual Report that maternal death-rates have decreased precisely because more confinements take place in maternity homes.

Opinion is of course not something static and it would be valuable to find out how it is related to the whole background of life and how it can be developed by education and an improved physical environment. Hints of this are given in *People's Homes* (by Mass Observation, p. 33): 'In Garden-ville, as in Modelville, those who had baths in the scullery (26%) felt an especial bath grievance, *much more so than the people in old houses who had no baths at all*' (my italics). The Standing Joint Committee of Working Women's Organisations states that central heating was wanted by 90—94% of those women who had seen it working, but women who had not seen it sometimes rejected it, as 'they queried whether it would be feasible!' In *People's Homes* (p. 53) again it is stated that of those living in flats 79% liked them (a far larger proportion than the alleged general consensus of opinion about flats would have led one to expect) as against 60—80% who liked the houses in which they were living.

One fact emerging clearly from the surveys is that only about 10% to 25% of the population want conditions other than those to which they are accustomed. Unknown amenities cannot be missed. But this does not mean that they would not be very much appreciated once they became part of people's everyday experience. Indeed, no need for any of the attributes of civilisation, be it a café or a symphony concert, can be expressed unless they have already become a part of the person's life. We speak of a 'need' if, for instance, better hygienic conditions are required to improve health. But most of the opinion surveys assumes that a need which is not vocal is non-existent. Needs although not measurable may be very real—but more or less unconsciously felt, and they may not find expression in an answer to a direct question.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL VALUE OF OPINION SURVEYS

If properly carried out, the opinion survey can be an invaluable sociological document. It would show not only the common measure of agreement and the conditions, quality, measure and trend of disagreement, but most important of all it would show the pattern of opinions in their relation to other social factors in a very highly developed and differentiated society such as ours. It is wrongly used if—as is so frequently assumed—opinion is considered as static, in other words as unrelated to tradition, occupation, family life and personal experience. We will have to remember, for instance, that preferences for semi-detached villas in the outer rings of large towns are expressed by people who have no conception whatsoever of life in a well built, beautifully

¹ For proportion of residential to total area refer to Th. Adams in *Havard Planning Studies*.

designed town. If the much disliked middle rings (or intermediate zones) were not, as now, the drab, social climb-down districts of dilapidated boarding houses, but instead were well-kept, pleasantly coloured, well laid out houses and flats round squares with trees, lawns, pleasant local shops, cafés and local clubs designed as part of a compact town—neither far from work nor from the unspoilt country—people would hardly express the same dislike for these areas, nor the same preference for the ‘outer rings’.

The æsthetic aspect of a district is responsible for the most striking degree of dissatisfaction. 71% to 90% think that the appearance of housing schemes can be improved (*Planning Our New Homes*, pp. xxviii and xxlx), and in towns 81% to 83% prefer modern design; similar preferences were reported by Mr. A. Whittick (*Civic Design and the Home*), and Mass Observation reports that ugliness is definitely resented. This is also my own experience in illustrated lectures on modern architecture. But, on the whole, people’s conception does not extend beyond the individual dwelling, and they are unable to visualise as a whole a well planned area and still less a town in terms of æsthetics or convenience. To ask them, as is usual, ‘Do you prefer a flat or a house?’ has not much meaning—because people do not know what else is involved. But if you show them a series of pictures and ask, ‘Would you prefer this terrace house in this fine quiet street, near your work, the children’s playground, social centre and shops and not far from the open country?’ or ‘Would you prefer a bungalow an hour or more from your work, on this bye-pass, with no shops, playgrounds, social centre or unspoilt country within easy reach?’ it is my experience that an intelligent audience will express very different views from those in the opinion survey.

It is precisely the more educated and imaginative citizen who is least contented with his environment and wants improvements. In *People’s Homes* the lowest amount (20%) of dissatisfaction expressed in any environment was that in the well-named ‘Subtown’, but while the general dissatisfaction among small town dwellers (according to another very thorough survey) was only 11%, 36% of the inhabitants of ‘Garden City’ would prefer to live elsewhere. It seems that the results obtained in surveys tell us more about the social conditions of people than about their real opinions.

THE POSITIVE VALUE OF THE SURVEYS

The value of surveys is not of a quantitative but of a qualitative nature. Criticism of practical details, dissatisfaction and the reasons for it, together with much detail about present and past housing experience (with plans of dwelling and area) is invaluable to the planner. For instance, the demand of housewives for larger rooms and for a periodic overhaul of dwelling and equipment, the request to make old buildings comply with new bye-laws or pull them down (see *Surveys by the Women’s Advisory Housing Council*) should be taken very seriously into consideration, both by the Government and the Local Authorities. This kind of criticism should not be neglected in a democratic country.

The planner must have the vision and the courage to go new ways, but he must be checked by the people, who in the light of their experiences express criticism and the reasons for their dissatisfaction. The most effective way to take the people into partnership is by exhibiting comprehensive plans, models, and films of their own town, and to hear their views in public discussion. Instead of making planning schemes behind closed council doors, instead of asking people how they wish to escape from towns which have grown ugly, not from original sin, but from human incompetence, let us show the citizen what an attractive place his town could be. Such discussion might become an instrument of mutual enlightenment—for planners and for the public—and new and vigorous interest in local affairs might thus be created.

TOWARDS A WATER POLICY¹

Hugh Franklin

The administrative control of water and its various uses has developed piecemeal, each new service having been introduced over the years independently of those already in existence, with the result that today there is an uncoordinated series of interests, each pulling against the other for priority of user. The domestic water supply—being an indispensable adjunct to life in some form or other—was the first, and long preceded its counterpart, an organised sewerage system; the two services have now attained a considerable measure of scientific development, each, however, in many instances without regard to the requirements of the other. The advent of canals brought special demands on the water resources of the counties through which they were constructed; industrial development brought demands previously unknown; water mills, and later power stations, demanded local supplies in varying quantities, while the introduction of organised fire-fighting was accompanied by the right to tap any piped supply for the use of fire brigades. Agriculture demanded its quota, and is today demanding it in increasing quantities; the needs of river traffic have had to be respected, and all the time land drainage has been extended to prevent seasonal floodings; and the sporting interests of riparian owners have been protected, often to the detriment of public requirements. The protection of the country's natural beauty and the preservation of its surface and underground water resources have been neglected in this welter of competition for an adequate supply on the one hand and for an avoidance of overabundance on the other.

THE PROBLEM IN ITS SETTING

Each of the services mentioned has its own peculiar problems. Droughts bring a shortage of domestic supply into prominence; floods automatically emphasise the need for greater control for their prevention; an outbreak of typhoid exposes a failure—often due to the human element—in purification methods; a water shortage at serious fires may endanger life and certainly disturbs the insurance companies; agriculture has its special problems in a dry season; and our sporting friends frequently complain that their fish cannot survive in contaminated waters.

Before proceeding to describe the remedies recently proposed to solve these problems, it is necessary to explain some of the interconnections between the various services. The Scott report, for instance, recommends the provision of a piped water supply to those villages in need of it, without waiting for the completion of a sewerage system. Had there been some central authority from whom the committee could have obtained evidence on all water matters, it would have been pointed out that health considerations demand the provision of sewerage before, or at least simultaneously with, the provision of piped supplies, as otherwise effluent from soakaways and cesspits may contaminate the surrounding soil and carry impurities through surface fissures into the wells from which the piped supplies are drawn. Again, a local authority,

¹ An analysis of *Labour's Postwar Water Policy* (Labour Party); *The Control of Water Resources* (British Waterworks Association); *A National Water Policy* (Cmd. 6515).

who may be a small entity in a large water supply area, is under no obligation to inspect its drains and sewers for a leakage which similarly may lead into wells or ducts used for supply purposes. A sewage works may be unduly near to filtration works, or may discharge contaminated effluent into a river above or dangerously near to the supply intake. Surface drainage, controlled by a catchment Board, may direct flood water from a river surge through specially constructed relief channels at a time when extra water might be more profitably impounded in reservoirs for reserve against drought or for agricultural irrigation. Private wells may be sunk without restriction and without regard to their effect on the water of nearby public supply wells, whereas a water undertaking may not sink any well without parliamentary sanction, and then only after compensatory terms have been granted to owners of any private wells affected. Mine shafts can be sunk in close proximity to established water-works and force their abandonment without compensation through contaminating the wells from which the supply is given. These are a few of the reasons why a comprehensive overhaul of both the administrative and technical machinery of our national water policy is overdue.

In the last century a series of Royal Commissions was mainly concerned with problems of the adequacy and purity of the domestic water supply, because it came to be realised that many endemic diseases were traceable to impurities in water. It is only in recent years that the conservation, the uses and the disposal of water have been regarded as a single problem; and today the need for a coordinated plan has been generally recognised. Three major policies have recently been published, each being an admixture of technical and political considerations, varying in relative degree and substance according to its authorship.

THREE WATER POLICIES

The first to be issued was the Labour's Post War Water Policy, closely followed by the proposals of the British Waterworks Association (B W A); the third was the recent White Paper of the Government. Briefly summarised, the Labour Party has recommended the complete socialisation of all water interests; the B W A has proposed government control without unduly disturbing vested interests, while the government have produced a reasoned argument for control, followed by suggestions for greater coordination between departments and more permissive powers for the Minister of Health. All three recognise the difficulties created by the multiplicity of government departments concerned in water matters—*Health* with water supply, sewerage and catchment areas; *Agriculture* with industry and land drainage; *Board of Trade* with industrial users; *Transport* with water for canals; *Fuel and Power* with the construction and flooding of mines and hydro-electric and electric power plants; *Home Office* with fire-fighting and safety of reservoir construction; *Town and Country Planning* with water in development areas; and (today) *Food* with milk cooling and other food production. The Government proposes to continue this medley of interested parties with the aid of consultative machinery to be brought into use when required. The B W A goes to the other extreme and proposes a new and separate Ministry of Water with a Minister solely responsible for the various water services. Labour's plan includes a National Water Commission to control and own all the services, being responsible to Parliament through the Ministry of Health, after the pattern of the Central Electricity Board or the Prison Commission.

CENTRAL ORGANISATION

It seems difficult to justify the claims of the B W A for a separate ministry, in the light of the duties involved. The recent creation of the Ministry of

Fuel and Power is quoted in support of the proposal, but on examination the responsibilities of that ministry appear to be more extensive than any which would devolve upon a ministry of water. The former deals with coal mines and the labour problems of three quarters of a million miners, with those employed in coal distribution, with the whole of the gas industry and the oil and petrol industry; with the imports and exports of coal and oil and the national and international repercussions arising therefrom. Compared with this the post of a Minister of Water would be a sinecure indeed. In fact, most of the problems arising out of the administration of water services are of a technical rather than a political nature and are eminently suitable for a small disinterested commission of administrative and technical experts, independent, but, through periodic reports to the Minister of Health, subject to the criticism of Parliament.

It may be questioned whether the Minister of Health is the most suitable repository for this responsible task, especially as its tradition for coordination in all its dealings with local authorities has earned for it a reputation as a somewhat spineless and timorous department whose main virtues are excessive courtesy and compromise. A logical alternative would be the Ministry of Town and Country Planning in whose purview many of water's problems would naturally lie. On the other hand, as the Labour Party stresses, the domestic water supply—which is the most important of all water services for human well-being—is, like the sewerage system, essentially a public health service; so long, therefore, as there is a Ministry of Health, that ministry becomes the natural home of water services generally, if it is agreed that unification of administration is necessary.

The government white paper—issued by the Ministry of Health—not unnaturally proposes a continuance of the *status quo*, with increased rights of enquiry and inspection for the minister and wider 'delegated powers'; it does however recommend a change in the constitution of the government's existing Central Advisory Water Committee—that committee is to be granted the right to initiate recommendations instead of waiting to be asked for them. There would be an extension of the existing Regional Advisory Committees, who again would be limited to advice and have no power of direction or control.

A TECHNICAL COMMISSION

The Central Water Advisory Committee has been in existence some years and has produced useful reports on various aspects of water supply upon which government policy has been based. The committee, however, is regarded as being representative of various interests, and appointments are made with that object in view, so that some of its proposals are coloured with sectional outlook. Its work has been mainly confined to those services which are now under the control of the Ministry of Health, so that a broad review of water problems generally is outside its terms of reference. It has initiated a survey of inland water resources, assisted by the few regional advisory committees which have been appointed; but the progress has lacked a sense of urgency and has been conducted in a somewhat leisurely atmosphere, probably from lack of adequate resources. Fundamentally, this survey of overground and underground water is the basis of any major change in both the administrative and technical sphere, and merits the attention of a whole-time committee appointed for the purpose.

Both the Labour Party and the BWA recommend the appointment of such a body—the former under the title of National Water Commission and the latter of Central Water Authority. Beyond a stipulation for technical and administrative ability the BWA does not specify the method of appointment, nor the degree of delegated powers which the Minister of Water would

allow the Authority. Labour, on the other hand, insists on appointment by the Minister of Health on grounds of suitability for a fixed period of years, and with autonomous powers as already described. But the B W A goes further in its proposals at this level. It calls for the establishment of a parallel body, to be called the Public Water Supply Board, which would direct the allocation of water to the water undertakings and become the administrative centre of water supply generally. It is not clear whether the Supply Board is on the same plane as the Authority and which can claim priority of user in the event of a clash between services ; nor is it clear how far it is subject to the direction of the proposed Minister of Water in its day-to-day decisions or long distance planning. The Labour Party are definite in their view that the National Water Commission should only be subjected to Parliamentary control, and be left entirely free to direct its own work without ministerial interference.

At this level all the white paper proposes is a strengthening of the water department of the Ministry of Health, the establishment of an inspectorate for the water undertakings and an increase in the minister's powers in regard to several matters which hitherto have had to be dealt with by private Bills. He is, however, given the important new task of seeing that an adequate water supply is available where it is reasonable to provide it. Coordination with the government departments, already mentioned, is to be extended, although the machinery by which it is to be implemented is not described.

REGIONAL AUTHORITIES

All three reports envisage the necessity for regional bodies, each being analogous to the central body in their respective schemes. The white paper and the B W A give advisory powers only to the Regional Advisory Water Committees, the district water authorities and the district water supply boards; the Labour Party suggests regional water commissions, as replica in miniature of the National Water Commission and with similar, but localised, powers. Except for the white paper's advisory committees, all these localised bodies would be subject to the overriding jurisdiction of their central counterpart. Below this regional or district level, however, the rate of divergence between each plan becomes more obvious.

PUBLIC SERVICE OR PRIVATE COMPANIES ?

The B W A, which is an industrial federation of almost all the water supply undertakings in the country—public and private, large and small—and represents no other water interests, naturally devotes most of its report to its own industry; it contemplates the continuance of the profit-making private undertakings—about 20% in number of the whole; it envisages amalgamations where desirable and the possible creation of joint Boards in some areas for the purposes of supplying water in bulk for undertakers to distribute. It is not stated whether such bulk supplies should consist of filtered or raw water nor does it discuss the technical difficulties generally associated with such a system. The white paper also proposes to arrange amalgamations of undertakings where a case can be made out for so doing, but otherwise does not propose to disturb the existing structure of the water supply industry. The Labour Party, on the other hand, recognises that water supply and other water services should be administered on a geographical basis, without regard to existing or future local government boundaries, and proposes that the regional water commissions should set up area water supply boards, after the pattern of the Metropolitan Water Board, governed by representatives of the local authorities whose areas are wholly or partly served. All profit-making undertakings would be bought out on the party's terms agreed for

other industries and ownership would be vested throughout the country in the National Water Commission.

The River Boards, which the government recently proposed to replace the various catchment area authorities, would in the Labour plan be one of the bodies parallel with water supply boards under the administration of the Regional Commissions, but the BWA propose to merge them in the District Water Authorities, without any separate existence.

In general it may be said that the white paper recommends a continuance of the *status quo* with greater ministerial powers and a hope for more energetic interest in water supply matters; the BWA want an entirely new administrative machine, under a new ministry, rather cumbersome in its duplication of central and local bodies and with a natural bias towards the interests of its own specialised industry; and the Labour Party want complete socialisation with an autonomous commission, subject to Parliament through the Ministry of Health, and locally autonomous regional commissions governing all water matters with the special duty of reorganising the water supply services.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE MEANS TO FULL EMPLOYMENT by G. D. H. Cole (Gollancz 6/-)

A stimulating and useful contribution to the growing literature on full employment. The author deliberately restricts himself to setting out the *minimum* programme necessary to abolish unemployment in a capitalist society. He relies mainly upon a large expansion of public investment and the stimulating of private investment to maintain employment at a high level; he tends to fight shy of any *direct* raising of consumption. The chapters dealing with the need to increase industrial efficiency and to control monopoly practices are the more valuable because the former problem is often overlooked. The theoretical chapters suffer somewhat from the resurrection of the Quantity Theory of Money.

G. D. N. W.

COUPON OR FREE by R. W. G. Mackay (Secker and Warburg 5/-)

HOW TO REFORM PARLIAMENT by Robert S. W. Pollard (Forum Press 2/-)

YOUR M P by Gracchus (Gollancz 2/6)

Three publications about Parliament. Mr. Mackay writes as a strong supporter of Proportional Representation, gathers together the facts about unrepresentative Parliaments for those who want to use them, adds some others suggestions for electoral reform and finishes with his own draft for a Sixth Reform Bill. Mr. Pollard's very useful pamphlet does not deal with elections, but makes a number of suggestions, whose cumulative effort would be considerable, for the better working of Parliament when elected. The proposals cannot be summarised in the space available; the pamphlet should be read.

Finally, 'Gracchus', captain in the Spanish War, reminds us that there is an election coming which is not likely to be fought under P.R., and which will not be concerned with reform of Parliamentary procedure; the issue will be the record of the Tory Party. Here it is. Readers who have or can get hold of Geoffrey Manders' 'We Were Not All Wrong' (same publisher) should make use of it simultaneously.

M. I. C.

ON LIVING IN A REVOLUTION by Julian Huxley (Chatto and Windus 12/6)

Fresh (or rather, tired) from his allotment-digging, the present reviewer was cheered by Mr. Huxley's statement that a wireworm population of less than half-a-million per acre is 'tolerably safe' for crops. There are several 'popular science' essays in this volume, but more important and not less interesting are those which deal with the revolution in which we are living—a revolution that is bringing about the Age of Social Man; the peace settlement after the War—Fabianly sane and practical this; and the T.V.A. example of democratic planning in practice.

E. R. P.

FAITH, REASON AND CIVILISATION by Harold J. Laski (Gollancz 6/-)

Professor Laski's 'Marxist approach' to the issues raised in this essay is as liberal and persuasive as one would expect. He is concerned with the need for a positive faith to guide and sustain mankind through the critical years ahead—something comparable in force and effect to primitive Christianity. But Christianity as a source of new values at this stage is sympathetically rejected. The intellectuals, though sensitive to the malaise of society, have notably failed us. Russia, in spite of patent faults, has given the right lead: the Soviet idea has proved itself in act, and is rationally and morally adequate. There is nothing strident about this claim, which does not profess to be unlimited. Mr Laski offers a reasoned apologia—even an eirenicon—rather than an evangel. Even readers with certain contrary presuppositions will appreciate the intellectual integrity of this essay, which does not offer facile answers to hard questions.

K. H.

ARMIES AND THE ART OF REVOLUTION by K. C. Chorley (Faber and Faber 12/6)

In this painstaking, pseudo-scientific study 'revolution' and 'revolt' are treated as synonyms to the detriment of the exposition. Lessons framed under a dozen heads, such as 'The effect of failure in war', 'Fraternisation', are illustrated from three centuries of history, much of it quite incapable of providing lessons relevant to present-day conditions. This is true of the French Revolution (which obtains a chapter to itself); even more so to the American Revolution or that of 1689. On the other hand, Hitlerite Germany and Mussolini's Italy are virtually ignored. The fact that the book touches a field all so little explored gives it a value which all work of a pioneer character somewhat readily acquires. The absence of cross headings makes comprehension difficult and also subsequent reference.

C. G.

WAYS AND MEANS OF REBUILDING (Faber and Faber 8/6)

'Ways and Means of Rebuilding' is a report of the London Conference of the Town and Country Planning Association of 1943. The Conference was concerned with the repercussions of a national policy of 'Full Employment' on Housing, the Building Industry, and Town and Country Planning, and the report contains contributions by economists and other experts together with discussions on the various papers. Like the Reports on the Oxford and Cambridge Conferences this Report deserves serious study by all concerned with national planning.

J. K. H.

THE ROAD TO MATURITY Edited by Edward F. Griffith, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (Gollancz 6/-)

A sensible, balanced and well-informed contribution to sex education. Besides three lectures by the Editor for adolescents on the physiology of sex and emotional development, it includes contributions on particular aspects (boys' boarding schools, girls' boarding schools, co-educational schools, elementary and secondary schools) by well-known educational authorities. The Managing Director of Cadbury Bros. writes on 'Reaching Maturity in Industry', Julian Huxley on 'Emotional Development Through Physical Activities' and Mary Field on 'The Film and the Teaching of Biology'. The complex psychological aspects of the problem are least well dealt with; Noel Harris writes on 'Psychological Types', but the bearing of these types on the problem of sex education is barely touched upon.

S. I.

THE FUTURE POPULATION OF EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION (League of Nations: Allen and Unwin, 15/-)

The purpose of this valuable monograph is to examine the implications of past trends of population for the movement in the post-war decades. Even apart from the effects of catastrophic wartime disturbances, the difficulties of prediction are obvious. Thus, a hundred years ago there were almost everywhere more births than deaths. France alone appeared an exception, but the position was misleading as to future growth. For the excess elsewhere of births over deaths existed only because the past course of growth had left large populations concentrated in the reproductive ages, and France was only unique in leading the trend to be followed later by others. The monograph is an important contribution to the study of population questions.

B. D.

TOTAL WAR AND THE HUMAN MIND by Major A. M. Meerloo, M.D.
(Allen and Unwin 4/6)

AN INDUSTRY OF HEALTH by T. B. Layton, M.S., F.R.C.S. (Heinemann 3/6)

RATIONAL MEDICINE by Basil Graves (Nicholson and Watson 12/6)

Here are three books written by medical men, but quite unrelated in feeling and approach. Major Meerloo writes graphically of the Nazis in Holland. He shows the danger of mass delusion and the skilful use of propaganda and its effect on the Group Mind. He warns us of 'the fear which attacks men faced with—unlimited freedom' and also not to repeat a soft peace as in 1918 when American charity rushed to restore Germany before devastated Belgium.

Mr Layton puts in a plea for the linkage of the whole profession but does not include the White Paper Proposals in his discussion. He has inside knowledge of hospitals, local authorities and patients, so his ideas will appeal to all in those categories, and to many outside. Mr Graves covers a wide field and yet mostly from the point of view of an eye surgeon. He has some pungent remarks on the way in which surgeons are recruited, and many valuable suggestions on the reform of medical education. It is a stimulating work, badly in need of an index.

S. C.

OUR AIRLINES—OUR LIFELINES by Bruce Elliott (Hurricane Books
W. H. Allen 9d)

Is written with detailed inside information and indicts the Shipping Companies for trying to make a 'corner' in overseas transport, not altogether discouraged by the Government who, by appointing Shipping Directors and superannuated Trade Union officials to direct a mode of transport requiring a new approach and great vision, have put a brake on the efficient running of a State enterprise.

W. G. F.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA Report on the Constitutional Problem of India
Part III By Professor R. Coupland (OUP 6/6)

The third section of Professor Coupland's comprehensive survey provides extremely useful summaries of his Parts I and II and a preliminary political analysis before dealing with future constitutional possibilities. Endorsing the contention that the deadlock was and is due primarily to Moslem (Mr Jinnah ?) determination not to accept Congress-Hindhu domination, and for which he attributes some blame to Congress for not forming coalition provincial governments, he criticises Pakistan as economically, socially and defensively unsound. He advocates a basically economic and autonomous Regionalism, co-ordinated by a restricted Central Government, and for which the Princes' States might be induced to opt for in time.

R. S.

BRITISH ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN THE FAR EAST by E. M. Gull
(Institute of Pacific Relations and R I A 16/-)

In this book there are collected a vast array of facts and figures which hitherto have only been available to the specialist after some 'digging'; on this account the book's style and minor blemishes may be pardoned. The treatment is highly objective, and no attempt is made to present and interpret facts (many of them startling) in a manner calculated to flatter or to shock the British conscience. Apart from his 'over-statistically-laden' pages the author leads the reader via his interim conclusions to a thought-provoking set of final conclusions and surmises.

R. O. R.

COOPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS AND POST-WAR RELIEF (International Labour Office 4/-)

The book gives the best available picture of the position of cooperative organisations all over the world. Though 1937 is chosen as a basis for comparison, every effort was made to collect, by special questionnaires, all information possible to bring it up-to-date.

The book contains a full examination of the special qualifications and possibilities which the cooperative movement has for relief tasks and should not be missed by a student of cooperation.

N. B.